

WALL ST. PINS HOPES ON ARMS RACE

SWP Election Drive Inspires United Activities by Socialists

Candidates Campaign In N.Y., San Francisco

By Herman Chauka

The election campaigns being waged by the Socialist Workers Party in New York and San Francisco are providing a growing basis for united action by socialists of various persuasion who share a common belief in the need to advance an independent socialist alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties of Big Business. In both cities prominent figures in the radical movement are lending their support to public rallies on behalf of Socialist Workers Party candidates.

Vincent Hallinan, former Progressive party leader, will speak at rallies in both New York and San Francisco on behalf of the SWP slates. The San Francisco rally on Oct. 30 will be chaired by Warren K. Billings, heroic fighter with Tom Mooney, against capitalist injustice. Both Hallinan and Billings have urged San Francisco workers to vote for Barbara and Jordan, Socialist Workers candidates for Supervisor.

Further support in San Francisco to the movement for united socialist political action came this week with the endorsement of the Socialist Workers nominees by George Hitchcock and George Olshausen. Hitchcock, a well known San Francisco playwright, is chairman of the Independent Socialist Forum in that city. Olshausen is a prominent civil liberties lawyer.

Their statement declares: "We believe that Labor should have independent representation in government. Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, candidates for Supervisor, are running for office because they feel the same way. Moreover, they are both active socialists whose program emphasizes the socialist future of mankind. Although the undersigned do not necessarily agree with every point in the program of Frank Barbara and Mrs. Jordan, we endorse their candidacies for the stated reasons and call upon the citizens of San Francisco to vote for them on Nov. 5."

In New York, support continues to grow for the Oct. 25 Cowley rally, at which Hallinan will speak. In a letter of Oct. 10, James Aronson, Editor of the influential weekly, the National Guardian, urges support to the rally. The letter declares that a "vote for either of the major parties in the New York Mayoralty election on Nov. 5 would be a foolish waste of a valuable ballot." John T. McManus, General Manager of the Guardian and the 1952 Gubernatorial candidate of the American Labor Party, heartily concurred. (See text of letter on this page.)

Additional speakers at the New York rally will include Mrs. Clifford T. McAvoy, long active in the Progressive and American Labor parties, and Tim Wohlforth, editor of the new youth paper, the Young Socialist.

A statement in support of the New York rally has been issued by Tim Wohlforth, George R. Stryker and others. The statement greets Hallinan's support for Cowley as "in accord with his principled stand of supporting all actions which contribute to laying the foundations for a united, mass party of American socialism."

"Such a stand," they continue, "deserves the support of all those who seek a socialist society free of hell-bombs, witch hunts, racism and economic exploitation. Attendance at the Oct. 25 meeting at Central Plaza for Vincent Hallinan and Joyce Cowley will be a demonstration of your belief in the future of American socialism."

San Francisco Candidates



FRANK BARBARIA AND JOAN JORDAN, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Supervisors in San Francisco, united socialist advocates in their campaign.



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of N. Y. and VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for president, will speak at New York rally Oct. 25 for independent socialist political action.

Nat'l Guardian Editors Back SWP Rally in N.Y.

(The following is the text of the Oct 10 letter from James Aronson and John T. McManus, editor and general manager of the National Guardian respectively, urging support to the New York rally for Vincent Hallinan and Joyce Cowley. The letter is addressed to Miss Cowley's campaign manager, Carol Lynn. — Ed.)

Dear Miss Lynn,

This is to let you know, in reply to your query, that I will be glad to give my support to the meeting on Oct. 25 at Central Plaza, when Vincent Hallinan will speak for the candidacy of Joyce Cowley for Mayor.

I have the utmost admiration for Mr. Hallinan whom the National Guardian supported in his campaign for the Presidency on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952. His courage and optimism

in a dark time in America have been most heartening to so many of us who suffered far less for our convictions than he did.

In addition, I am convinced that the dismal record of both major parties in the city and nation leave only one recourse for intelligent voters — independent political action. In my opinion, for a progressive citizen to vote for the candidates of either of the major parties in the New York Mayoralty election on November 5 would be a foolish waste of a valuable ballot.

Sincerely,
James Aronson
I concur!
John T. McManus

OTHER COMMENTS

(The following are additional excerpts from the Stryker-Wohlforth statement reported elsewhere on this page. — Ed.)

The lack of fundamental choice presented by the Republicans and Democrats in the New York Mayoralty election provides a graphic demonstration that the two party system has nothing to offer the working people and their allies.

We therefore welcome the activities of those who bring to the fore the issue of independent working class political action in the New York elections and who present a socialist answer to the major issues of the day.



JAMES ARONSON

AFTER LITTLE ROCK

Integration and The Southern "Moderates"

By George Lavan

The American public is suddenly hearing a lot about Southern "moderates." Northern newspaper editors are hailing them as the hope of the South, the answer to the school desegregation problem, the people who can prevent the reoccurrence of such "tragedies" as the federal enforcement of desegregation at Central High School in Little Rock.

Who are these Southern "moderates"? What is their program? What can fighters against Jim Crow expect from them? These questions and their answers will assume increasing importance since the Southern "moderates" are being pushed forward into the national political limelight occupied up till now by the Byrnes-Byrd-Griffin-Eastland School of Southern politics. The pushing is being done by important economic and political interests in the South. And helping hands are being extended by the Eisenhower administration, the Northern Democrats and the Northern press.

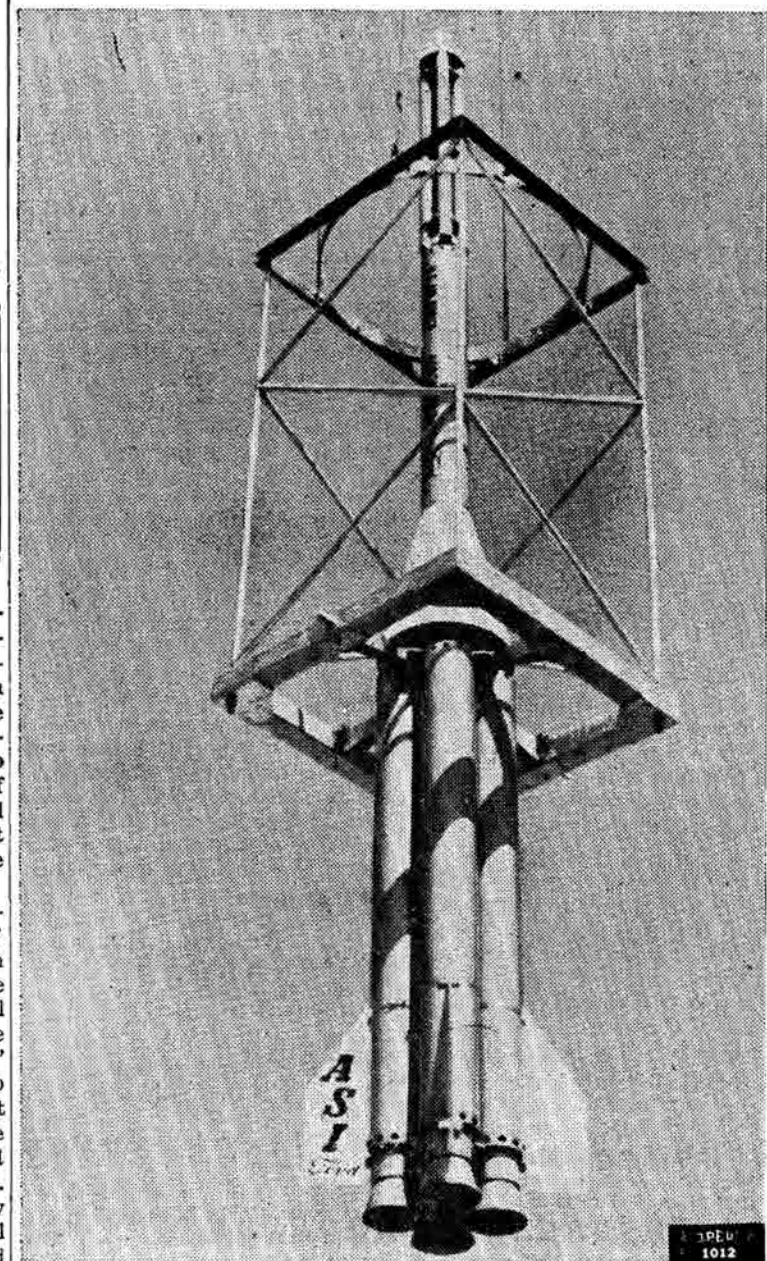
A PECULIAR TERM

Use of the label "moderate" is as wide, all-embracing, and consequently as vague, as current usage of the term "liberal." As applied to the Southern scene it is being employed to describe (1) anti-integrationists not identified with fire-eating statements of absolute defiance of the Supreme Court decision and legislation to destroy it at any cost, (2) those who may have taken the above positions but who have since indicated that they believe nullification, interposition or abolition of the public school system unfeasible, (3) state officials who have endorsed such positions but are credited with secretly not being for them.

The present leaders of the Southern "moderates" are Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida and Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina. Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee is also associated with this group. But since East Tennessee has long been a Republican stronghold, that state is not considered typically Southern and Clement must therefore yield primacy to Collins and Hodges as Southern spokesmen.

It was during the Southern Governors Conference that the

(Continued on page 3)



Ford-built rocket, planned to be launched from a balloon-suspended platform above Eniwetok Atoll, is one of U.S. answers to the Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile that has disrupted Wall St.'s war perspective.

Hurl "Spy" Smear at Wife To Prejudice Sobell Appeal

By Myra Tanner Weiss

OCT. 17 — A ferocious campaign, inspired and organized by the FBI and the Department of Justice, was unleashed this week in a desperate attempt to prejudice the appeal of Morton Sobell to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Sobell is serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz following his conviction in 1951 on trumped-up charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" for the Soviet Union.

This campaign has been unfolding along two lines. First, an attempt is being made at a "spy" smear against Helen Sobell who has spearheaded an investigation of the frame-up of her husband which has uncovered devastating evidence that the Department of Justice is fearful to have presented to the Supreme Court.

At the same time leading newspapers and magazines have come out with editorials and articles attempting to bolster the government's case against So-

Pushes War Spending to Block Slump

By Joseph Keller

OCT. 15 — Sputnik didn't flash into outer space a day too soon for Wall Street. The stock market, an important indicator of the condition of the profit system, had begun in recent months to sag in the middle and droop at both ends, it the hopes of America's declining 15% since July. The Soviet "moon" has lifted with financial rulers. They see in it a pretext to speed up U.S. militarization and thereby give the capitalist economy another shot-in-the-arm of war spending.

Yesterday's Wall St. Journal, which complains that "cuts in war spending have already made themselves felt in part," observes in its lead article that "Sputnik and kindred Soviet achievements are propelling the cold war into a tough new phase."

"TOUGH" TALK

This leading financial and business newspaper cites the speech of Army Secretary Brucker last week before a women's group, when he stated: "You'll never know the power this country has, unless there is a war. That power is so massive that nobody should ever risk trying it out."

The Journal then quotes "one of the Administration's most skilled diplomats" as follows: "When you talk peace all the time, people get to believe that you're never going to use whatever power you have."

All this "tough" talk, of course, doesn't preclude some maneuvers in the direction of "peaceful co-existence." But it does indicate that official propaganda is being pitched to prepare the American people for an intensified arms race and the sacrifices that further inflationary war spending will entail.

MORE SACRIFICES

Certainly, the Democrats are going to press the issue and have already fired their opening salvos. Thus, Senator Symington (D-Mo.), a former Air Force Secretary, sarcastically commented that "Eisenhower wants to meet the enemy at the border with a firmly balanced budget."

Even the most conservative financial commentators are declaring for no-holds-barred in tackling a stepped-up superarmaments program. "At this moment we do not know whether a stepped-up missile program will cost us a fraction of a billion dollars or many billions of dollars a year from now on," states financial expert Lawrence Fertig in the Oct. 14 N. Y. World-Telegram. "But," he adds, "whatever the cost it will have to be done." Even, he states further, if this must be done at the expense of socially-beneficial projects "such as federal aid to education."

Sen. Styles Bridges, a Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, puts the prospect of "sacrifice" more directly: "The time has clearly come to be less concerned with the depth of the pile on the new Broadway rug or the height of the fin on the new car, to be more prepared to shed blood, sweat and tears."

REMOTE DREAM

Naturally, this doesn't refer to the blood, sweat and tears of those who will profit from increased armaments and who have only old hand-made Persian rugs and fleets of Cadillacs and Jaguars.

Noting the recent aircraft plants layoffs, the Oct. 11 N. Y. Post pondered editorially, "What will happen if some real disarmament accord is finally achieved and defense industries begin to cut down on a national scale? How much of our economy is based on cold war? How will it withstand the shock of relaxed tension?" But then comes the reassuring thought: "Perhaps the dream of disarmament remains remote."

Rally for Independent Socialist Political Action

New York City

Hear

Vincent Hallinan

(1952 Progressive Party Presidential Candidate)

Joyce Cowley

(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York)

Mrs. Clifford McAvoy

Tim Wohlforth

(Managing Editor Young Socialist)

Friday, October 25 -- 8 P.M.

CENTRAL PLAZA — 111 SECOND AVENUE

Contribution 50 cents

San Francisco

Hear

Warren K. Billings

(Chairman)

Vincent Hallinan

Frank Barbaria

(SWP Candidate for Supervisor)

Joan Jordan

(SWP Candidate for Supervisor)

Wednesday, October 30 -- 8:15 P.M.

ILWU Bldg., 150 Golden Gate Avenue

(Auspices: Citizens Committee for Barbaria and Jordan)

Bittleman's 'Fresh Look' at CP Crisis

By Harry Ring

"By its very nature the 20th Congress [of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] was bound to inspire true democrats, Socialists and Communists," says Alexander Bittleman in his serialized

article on the crisis of the Communist Party entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look." As of this writing, eleven installments have appeared in the Daily Worker.

According to Bittleman, "Communists especially were bound to be stimulated by the fresh look which the 20th Congress took at the world, to themselves take a fresh look at their own programs, policies and organizations."

But, he woefully adds, "in our own Party it did not work out quite like that. The bright new vision tended to become somewhat obscured for the American people and the American Communist Party by certain aspects in the reappraisal of Stalin's role. . . This may not have added much to our difficulties," Bittleman informs us, "but it certainly did not help."

This almost ludicrous "estimate" of the shattering impact of the 20th Congress on the Communist Party is born of Bittleman's efforts to prove the roots of the CP crisis are purely "American," springing from unfavorable "objective" circumstances in this country and "subjective" errors by the party.

STEIN'S VIEW

The entire tract is intended to provide a "theoretical" platform for the drive now being launched by the Eugene Dennis-Sid Stein wing of the CP leadership (with the apparent acquiescence of Wm. Z. Foster) to "reconstruct" the crisis-ridden organization. This drive was opened with a report by Stein, national organization secretary of the party, to a July 27 National Committee meeting and entitled, "Rebuild the Party!"

In this report, to the party bureaucrats, Stein did not try to slither around the obvious relation of the 20th Congress to the CP crisis as Bittleman does in the Daily Worker. The basis for the crisis, said Stein, is found "in the serious weakening of what some of us call our moorings or our ideological foundations." These consist of "confidence in the first land of socialism. . . For 27 years such confidence abounded in our party." But, he added, "the foundations crumbled when it became clear from the 20th Congress of the CPSU that Soviet society was not as we had pictured it."

Stein, like Bittleman, signaled the need to divert the discussion in CP circles from the grave issues posed by the 20th Congress. The need of the hour, they both say, is to concentrate on "American" problems.

Stein assured one and all that democratization will be "accelerated" by Khrushchev and company. But he was very chary of putting all the CP's eggs in one basket. "I do not want to create the impression," he hastily added, "that it is the foundation of our ideological rebuilding. . . For the ideological roots of our party are right here in our own country."

This does not mean that Stein favors cutting the CP's ideological ties with the Kremlin. It is necessary to combat the notion, he declared, "that our future depends on disassociating ourselves from the land of socialism."

DANGER IN DISCUSSION

But both Stein and Bittleman understand that the projected "reconstruction" cannot proceed on the basis of a searching, party-wide discussion of the revelations from "the land of socialism" which made the "re-

construction" project necessary in the first place. Such a discussion would reveal not only that the CP leaders made the "error" of serving as blind apologists for Stalin, but also that their politics were, and still remain, tailored to serve the interests of Kremlin foreign policy and not the interests of the American, the Soviet, or the world working class.

For example, Bittleman points to the period when Earl Browder was dumped as one where the party "went overboard" in changing its line. Omitted, however, is the key fact that neither the decision to oust Browder, nor the change in line,

Some Buried History About Bittleman

The Daily Worker failed to offer a single biographical note in publishing Alexander Bittleman's "fresh look" series. This omission undoubtedly arises out of the fact that Communist Party history proved embarrassing after the Stalin revelations. Yet some of Bittleman's history should be of interest. In 1937 he undertook the defense of Stalin's frame-up trials. He wrote a pamphlet called "Trotsky the Traitor" in which he said, "Conspiracy with Hitler and Japan to dismember the Soviet Union . . . to engage in wrecking activities . . . to plan assassination of Soviet leaders. . . Trotsky and his agents have been proven guilty of all these unspeakable crimes." From the 20th Congress came the admission that these charges were all lies. Little wonder he and his fellow CP leaders fear discussion of the 20th Congress. It is easier to forget than to explain.

originated in the American CP. That particular somersault—as with all the others since the Stalinization of the party in the 1920's—sprang directly from the changed foreign policy needs of the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin.

But, it will be argued, all of that is in the past. Now "the ideological roots of our party are right here in our own country."

LIVE TOGETHER

Those who may believe this should read Bittleman with particular care. If nothing else, he has the dubious distinction of spelling out the policy of the party leadership in surprisingly frank fashion. His point of departure is the line reiterated at the 20th Congress on the need to establish a "durable era" of peaceful co-existence with world capitalism. He spells out the fact that the Kremlin concept of co-existence means a "live and let live" deal with capitalism which completely sacrifices the interests of the workers.

"The emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition," announces Bittleman, "does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U.S. . . . To use the scientific terminology of Marxism-Leninism, the social and political nature of the struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist."

Can the CP be "reconstructed" on the basis of a program which rules out a socialist perspective for an entire "historical period?" Does such a program coincide with the reality of American developments? We will return to these questions.

By John Thayer

THE TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY. By Herbert Aptheker. New York: Mainstream Publishers 1957, 256 pp., \$3.00 (paper \$2.00).

This book's purpose is to furnish historical proof for the claim by the Kremlin and Kadar regime that last year's Hungarian Revolution was really a counter-revolution to restore capitalism and was principally inspired and led by imperialist agents and Horthyite fascists.

The Stalinist movement in this country has in the past commissioned similar jobs. The aim, a decade ago, of The Great Conspiracy by Sayers and Kahn was to prove the Moscow "confession" trials were gospel truth and that Trotskyists were fascist mad dogs. Such "proof" depended on slander and falsification. But times have changed requiring a different method and different authors.

Aptheker, the author of this book, has a reputation as a scholar for his very credible studies on Negro history. How well that reputation will survive this present work is questionable, but he indubitably stands on a higher moral plane than the literary frame-up artists who concocted The Great Conspiracy. His method is not that of open, conscious falsification. His sins are those of omission rather than commission.

NOT CHEMICALLY PURE

Since revolutionary upheavals and the masses that make them are never chemically pure, almost any revolution in history can be detracted, smeared, even "proven" its opposite by omission of disagreeable facts and careful selection and compiling of those conducive to the desired conclusion. This is the method of the plot theory of history according to which blind masses are manipulated by clever conspirators. Thus the standard bourgeois "explanation" of Russia's October Revolution is that it was a cleverly executed coup d'etat by a tiny minority, not a real revolution by conscious masses. A century ago French royalists "proved" that the Great French Revolution of 1789 broke out and raged for years because the Orleans branch of the royal family aimed to supplant the Bourbons. It is indisputable that the Duke of Orleans paid huge sums of money to innumerable

agents to dethrone Louis XVI before and during the Revolution. And in the Russian Revolution of 1905 what about those crowds expressing at times reactionary and anti-Semitic prejudices? And what about the insurgent groups that were getting money from the Japanese imperialists with whom Czarist Russia was then at war? Lenin noted them, said such things were inevitable in a revolution and of minor importance.

What a travesty of historical reality Aptheker's plot-theory and selection-omission method could make of the February 1917 Revolution which overthrew Czarism. How many figures that emerged in leading roles turned out in ten months to be white terrorists, anti-Semites, restorationists? And would Aptheker maintain that even those masses which swung over to support of Bolshevism completely shed and never expressed their centuries-old prejudices of anti-Semitism during and after October? German imperialism spent consider-

able money to increase wartime disaffection in Czarist Russia. It had spies and secret agents in Russia. Did they not participate in the February events? A juicier fact than any Aptheker cites on Hungary is that the German General Staff transported Lenin from Switzerland to Russia. Using the treatment today employed by Aptheker quite an impressive "documentation" was once assembled "proving" that the Bolshevik revolution was a German-inspired plot.

Three-quarters of this book is devoted to laying the historical and political basis for the concluding thesis about the actual revolution. Many useful and interesting facts are presented. The author has ransacked books, articles, speeches by U.S. politicians and Hungarian emigres, etc., for a useful phrase or sentence to fortify his argument. This slanting, this straining for detective-story clues, leads to many ludicrous assertions. Here

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When the next Labor government takes office it will start with a substantial and experienced Left wing in the party, a factor which did not exist in 1945. The Brighton conference has given the Left the opportunity, if its lessons are studied in the constituencies, as they surely will be, of beginning to arm itself now for the General Election and the great tasks which will follow it. The most essential weapon in the armory is a program: a list of fundamental political objectives around which the entire Labor Left, non-Marxist and Marxist, can unite. To the extent that such a program is agreed and fought for together by such vehicles of Left-wing opinion as Tribune and by the tens of thousands of "old-fashioned socialists" in the localities, it will act as a magnet for all the healthy forces in the British working-class movement and will galvanize and inspire the active members of the party for the hard, slogging but rewarding work that awaits them.

PROGRAM FOR LEFT

This program ought to summarize the most important socialist steps which the Left believes the next Labor government should take on assuming office, and which it will campaign for at party conferences until they become the accepted policy of the party in Parliament and in the country. Needless to say, the precise terms of such a program can be decided only in the course of the post-Brighton discussions now beginning; but, judging by the feeling among delegates, it will in all likelihood contain such demands as these:

(1) Nationalization of the engineering and shipbuilding industries. Nationalization of the building industry and of the land of the big landowners.

(2) Renunciation by Britain of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons, and an appeal to the peoples of other countries to follow this lead.

(3) Repeal of the Rent Act and the removal of all increases imposed upon it.

(4) Self-determination for British colonies, and the withdrawal of British troops from them.



Budapest workers shown inspecting two of the Kremlin's artillery guns they knocked out of action during the Hungarian revolution which began Oct. 23 last year. The anniversary article on this page exposes the propaganda lies of the Soviet bureaucrats against the suppressed uprising.

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At the same time far more attention must be devoted to the composition of the trade union delegations to the Labor Party conference. The time has gone by when the movement could afford to leave hundreds of thousands of votes in the hands of full-time officials who on occasion pay scant respect to the decisions of their own annual conferences. A healthy and vigilant rank-and-file movement in industry, side by side with the active

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Set-Back for U.S. Imperialism

The Eisenhower Doctrine, blared forth after the Suez crisis, is now under attack even by its staunchest supporters. The U.S. took over from Britain and France the job of "policing" the Arab countries to keep them safe for the profit system. The instrument for this task was the "Eisenhower Doctrine," announced by the President at a special session of Congress last year.

The fine print in this Doctrine soon became clear. King Saud, the slave-holding monarch of Saudi Arabia, was wined and dined in Washington, then sent forth as chief sales agent for U.S. policy. Now Saud himself is begging the U.S. State Department to renounce its policy and reassure the Arab countries of its "peaceful" intentions.

Lebanon, one of the first Arab countries to O.K. the Eisenhower Doctrine, is reported to have asked the U.S. to release it from the agreement. (Lebanon has already received its share of the \$200 millions provided in the Eisenhower Doctrine for support of U.S. policy.) King Saud is also proposing the abandonment of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

At first, it appeared the U.S., loaded with dollars and atom bombs, would meet little opposition. Iraq, the home of the Baghdad pact, went along. Lebanon agreed. In Jordan, where there was considerable nationalist opposition, King

Hussein just dissolved the parliament and declared martial law. The U.S. fleet sailed into view and Jordan was apparently delivered over to the U.S.

The State Department's time-table listed Syria and Egypt next. First, economic pressure was applied — called by Egyptians the "Big Squeeze." Around \$30 million of Egypt's assets in the U.S. were "frozen." The U.S. cut its export of lubricating oil, cut its economic aid program, turned down Egypt's request to buy wheat and cut off sales of spare parts for Egypt's canal tugs.

Syria and Egypt accused the U.S. of aiding plots to overthrow their governments. Eisenhower then waved his war threat. He declared Syria a danger to the peace of the Mideast, claimed Jordan and Lebanon were frightened by Soviet arms shipments and threatened to invoke the Eisenhower Doctrine to meet the "Communist challenge." (The U.S. had rejected an earlier Soviet proposal that the major powers agree to send no arms to Arab countries.)

But the Eisenhower Doctrine failed to scare the Arab nationalists. The Arab revolution has far greater strength than the Wall-Street government thought. The previously willing servants of pro-West policies had to retreat. Eisenhower and Dulles were left with a Doctrine to "protect" Arab countries that don't want "protection."

The Hungarian Revolution

This week marks the anniversary of the great Hungarian revolution for national independence and workers democracy. It began on October 23, one year ago, when security police fired on a demonstration in Budapest.

The Hungarian masses armed themselves as popular revolutionary masses always have, by disarming the police, capturing arsenals and winning over the ranks of the army. The workers launched a general strike. Councils — organs of workers power like the Soviets of 1917 — appeared on a nation-wide scale in the factories, the army and neighborhood areas. The workers fought overwhelming military odds with a spirit akin to that of the Paris Commune which inspired generations of class-conscious workers.

The blood-bath, begun Nov. 4 by the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, demonstrated once and for all the idiocy of any belief in the possibility of their "self reform." The role of the Workers Councils after the armed conflict ended — with the workers of "red Csepel," the industrial heart of Budapest, being the last to lay down arms — gave the lie in the most convincing way to Stalinist propaganda about saving Hungary from "Fascism." For over a month after the Nagy government and any capitalist-restorationist elements there were had disappeared, the general strike by the socialist work-

ers continued. For two months the Workers Councils continued their open activity, organizing new demonstrations and strikes and repeating the demands raised early in the revolution — withdrawal of Soviet troops and the institution of workers democracy. The central demand of the general strikes was for legalization of the Workers Councils as permanent political bodies with sole authority over the management of industry.

The reply of the Kadar regime was to outlaw the regional and city-wide Workers Councils, to arrest their leaders and decree a death penalty for strikers. The arrested leaders — including Bela Annicz, Sandor Bali and the 23-year-old president of the Budapest Workers Council Sandor Racz — have still not been released. Neither have the other prominent participants in the October events — the long-time Communist and Spanish Civil War veteran, General Pal Maleter, and the writers Tibor Dery, Byula Hay, Tibor Tardos and Zoltan Zelt.

The fate of these and thousands more — workers, intellectuals and Communists who participated in the revolution and who were arrested — remains unknown. They have not been put on public trial because a revolution cannot be tried without convicting its accusers. It is the duty of class conscious workers everywhere to demand the immediate release of these prisoners.

Helen Sobell

Anyone who has followed the sensationalized press treatment of the statements about Helen Sobell, wife of the famous Alcatraz prisoner, Morton Sobell, by Reino Hayhanen, witness against accused spy, Rudolph Abel, must wonder what the press is up to. Some of the headlines create the impression that Helen Sobell is now being accused of being a spy.

The Oct. 16 N.Y. Mirror's front-page headline read, "Spy Got 5Gs to Lure Wife of Sobell." A page three headline said, "Spy Names Sobell's Wife." However, those who went on to read the story, learned that Helen Sobell had never received any money, had never been propositioned by Hayhanen, and had never even laid eyes on the man.

Furthermore, the charges made by Hayhanen would strain the imagination of even the most glib and hysterical spy-hunter, searching for agents under the bed each night. Why should the Kremlin seek to obtain the "spy" services of a woman who is known throughout the country for her tireless efforts to win justice for her husband who has been buried in Alcatraz for eight years — on alleged "spy" charges.

What "spying" could she do with the FBI hounding her every step? What information could she obtain, when many people have been so frightened by the witch hunt that they're afraid even to look into her husband's case to see if he

was proved guilty or was framed up by the FBI?

Who is persecuting Helen Sobell and why? The answer is simple. After long years, the case of Morton Sobell is now before the Supreme Court. That court has never studied or passed judgement on the "conspiracy" case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell despite the fact that the Rosenbergs were executed (the first execution in an espionage case in the history of the U.S. by a civil court in peace time) and Sobell put in prison.

The Department of Justice and the cooperating capitalist press are trying to intimidate the Supreme Court. They are trying to pressure the Court out of looking into the 1951 trial of so-called "atom" spies. If this case were objectively investigated, if the new evidence, obtained by the defenders of Morton Sobell, were examined, Sobell would have to be set free. But more important to the government, the FBI would be convicted of organizing a monstrous frame-up, instigating false testimony in a U.S. court and knowingly permitting, if not instructing, witnesses to lie to a jury.

The FBI fears exposure. But its present pressure campaign may boomerang. The hounding of Helen Sobell, we believe, will not weaken her in her fight for justice. But it should arouse indignation among many thousands who must have been at least amazed and puzzled by the obvious smear campaign.

The Sputnik and Disarmament

By Art Preis

In the heyday of world capitalism before World War I, many leaders of the Second (Socialist) International held the view that the capitalist system would evolve peacefully and painlessly into socialism. They claimed that the class struggle, as depicted by Marx and Engels, was "outmoded" and that the capitalists themselves could be persuaded by appeals to reason and humanitarian feelings to abandon their inferior and brutal system for the superior system of socialism.

When the first world war broke out, these preachers of moral persuasion could not believe that the capitalists had been deaf to their entreaties. Obviously, the enlightened capitalists of their own country must have been provoked to war by exceptional and particularly justifiable circumstances. These "socialists" ended up by supporting the war.

When Stalin was alive, he added a new twist to this conception. The capitalist nations had not been persuaded to maintain the peace among themselves despite the similarity of their economic system. But the Kremlin leaders after World War II propounded the view that the capitalist world could be persuaded to peacefully accept the coexistence and the competition of a large and growing area in which the profit system had been abolished and nationalization of the basic industries instituted.

MERELY BAD "POLICY"

Both the earlier Social Democratic and the later Stalinist views started from the same premise. They both contended that imperialist aggression, militarization and war are simply a policy deliberately chosen and preferred by certain capitalist governments or cliques. If enough pressure or persuasion were used upon these war-inclined elements, their minds



Lenin, speaking, and Trotsky (marked X), co-leaders of the Russian Revolution of Nov. 1917, at a meeting of revolutionary workers and soldiers. Both urged international revolutionary socialist class struggle as the only way to halt or prevent imperialist wars.

could be changed. The question of peace and war thus boiled down to an ability to reach the minds and the decent instincts of the capitalist rulers.

The Kremlin has added a still further argument to this conception that the capitalists can be made to see the light and abandon war as a basic instrument of their international policy. If the leading capitalists could be convinced that imperialism and war are not only wrong but costly, unprofitable and even hazardous

to themselves, they might agree to a peace pact with the Soviet Union. Thus, the great advances in Soviet military power, now capped by the development of the intercontinental rocket as revealed in the projection of the Sputnik into outer space, are regarded as the clinching argument in convincing capitalism in general, and U.S. capitalism in particular, to accept "peaceful coexistence."

Soviet Communist Party leader Nikita Khrushchev empha-

sized the latter point when he said on Oct. 8 that "the rocket is a terrible and pitiless weapon. We do not want to misuse our superiority. But . . . we are now entering the period when fighters and bombers will have to be confined to museums . . ." Pravda, the leading Kremlin newspaper, declared that the American rulers now face the "inexorable necessity of peaceful coexistence, cessation of the arms race, and renunciation of their cold war policy."

The idea that the great capitalist powers can revert at will to a non-imperialist, non-war policy completely contravenes the fundamental concepts of Marx and the great Marxist teachers, Lenin in particular.

Before and during World War I, Lenin revealed in a series of brilliant studies, culminated by his master work Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism, that imperialism and war are inherent in the very nature of capitalism. He showed that imperialism was that stage in the development of the capitalist profit system where great monopolies controlled the basic means of production and huge aggregates of capital in the hands of tiny financial cliques dominated the world. The accumulation of capital which could not be profitably invested at home led to a drive for the export of capital and to a struggle for foreign fields for capital investment and trade.

Lenin showed that "imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exist." (Emphasis in original.)

CONFIRMED BY HISTORY

The history of the world since 1914 has repeatedly and conclusively proved the truth of Lenin's theory. Over and over again the richest and the most powerful capitalist nations have temporarily saved themselves from mortal economic crises by resorting to militarization and war. The world-wide economic depression of the Thirties was ended only by the advent of World War II. The post-war instability, which threatened to turn into a full-blown depression by 1949 when unemployment rose to nearly six million in the U.S., was quickly turned into a new war "prosperity" with Truman's military intervention in the Korean civil war. Only the continuation of gigantic military expenditures has enabled U.S. capitalism to delay economic catastrophe.

Lenin was especially scathing

against those who spread the slogan "disarmament." He wrote in his famous article in the Dec. 1916 Sbornik Sotsial-demokrata, a Bolshevik journal published in Switzerland, that "the preaching of 'disarmament,' which is deliberately addressed to the present governments of the imperialist great powers, is the most hackneyed opportunism, bourgeois pacifism, which in reality serves only . . . to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle. For such preachings inculcate the workers with the thought that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are not entangled in thousands of threads of finance capital and dozens of hundreds of corresponding (i.e. predatory, murderous, preparatory to imperialist wars) secret treaties between themselves." (Emphasis in original.)

Disarmament, said Lenin, is conceivable only under world socialism, because "in the socialist society there will be no wars, which means that disarmament will be realized."

Of course, under certain unfavorable conditions, even the mighty U.S. imperialists might agree to some "peaceful coexistence" treaty, including some form of "disarmament." They might favor some such temporary expedient in the event of a crucial crisis at home, a new upsurge of labor struggle for instance, or a great revolutionary upheaval in another part of the capitalist world.

The Kremlin has repeatedly demonstrated its willingness to betray the emancipating struggles of the working class and colonial peoples for the sake of deals with the imperialist powers. During the war-time coalition between the allied imperialist powers and the Soviet Union, the American Stalinist leaders were the most rabid strike-breakers and advocates of the incentive pay speed-up plan. Even conservative labor bureaucrats, like the late Philip Murray, attacked the Stalinist union leaders for their criminal strike-breaking and their offer of a peace-time no-strike pledge.

All programs for peace which do not have as their starting point the class struggle and the fight for socialism, are a snare. They do not alter the war-like nature of capitalism in its most advanced stage of imperialist decay. But they can and do delude and disarm the working class in the real battle against war—the struggle for workers' rule and socialism.

.. Southern 'Moderates'

(Continued from page 1)

Little Rock crisis came to a head. It was also at this conference that the "moderates" with the apparent consent of the anti-Negro extremists, such as Gov. Timmerman of South Carolina and Gov. Griffin of Georgia, assumed the role of public spokesmen for the South and intermediaries with the administration for withdrawal of federal troops just sent to Little Rock. Gov. Collins was also elected chairman of the Conference.

A clue to what may be expected of these "moderates" is that during the conference none of them condemned the actions of their fellow delegate, Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, even though the Little Rock crisis was occupying the attention of the whole country. Only Gov. McKeldin of Maryland, a Republican, who owes his election in large part to the Negro vote, condemned Faubus. On the other hand the "moderates" quickly and unanimously deplored the sending of federal troops to Arkansas as "tragic." They were then given the assignment of going as a deputation to confer with Eisenhower on means of recalling the troops.

Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, defeated for the conference chairmanship by Collins, was put on the deputation as the sole representative of the fire-eaters, but to facilitate the venture he resigned.

SHORT-LIVED

The "moderates" quickly made a deal for the troop withdrawal. Only a second look by the White House at the temper of public opinion both in the U.S. and abroad led to its hasty repudiation and the obviously correct statement that Faubus couldn't be depended on to protect the nine Negro children at Central High.

Following the failure of the deal with Faubus, Republican Governor McKeldin of Maryland, a member of the deputation, told a TV audience that Faubus was "no more opposed to interracial use of public schools than are the three Governors who worked with me. The only difference is that Governors Collins, Hodges

and Clement believe in constituted government of laws."

It should be sufficient commentary on the reliability of the Southern "moderates" to point out that Gov. Faubus himself qualified for that label until last August when he began his campaign against the court order to integrate Central High. Indeed, Faubus was considered an outstanding Southern "liberal" and on that basis received campaign support from the AFL-CIO and Negro voters.

What is the political record which entitles Collins to the label "moderate"? Campaigning for reelection in 1956, he boasted that during his tenure Florida had not admitted a single Negro child to a white school, that no lawsuits were pending for admission of a Negro to an elementary or secondary school and that a Negro student had successfully been kept out of the University of Florida despite a Supreme Court order that he be admitted.

Against the counter claims of his rivals for the white-supremacist vote, Collins argued that their methods and plans for thwarting the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling were impracticable while his were practical. Upon reelection he called a special session of legislature to pass a five point anti-integration program devised by a committee of eight lawyers of his choosing.

The program was passed and became the model for that soon adopted by North Carolina. It may well become the formula for Southern racist frustration of school integration. At present it is the second line of defense to which the Jim Crow forces, routed at Little Rock where they fought under Faubus and the banner of interposition, have retreated. Commanding this second defense line are the "moderates" — Collins and Hodges.

(Next week: The "moderate" record in Florida and N.C.)

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester

Manager, Pioneer Publishers

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY (IN DEFENSE OF MATERIALISM.) By G. V. Plekhanov. 410 pp. \$1.35.

Long unavailable in this country, this brilliant study of the rise of materialist philosophy, beginning with the French materialists of the 18th Century, is an unusual bargain at this price. Lenin said of it: "A remarkably logical and valuable exposition of dialectical materialism."

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph Korgold. 460 pp. \$2.00 plus 15 cents for mailing costs. (Originally \$6.00).

A magnificent biography of the leading capitalist revolutionist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. A full-length portrait of a tremendous

figure and leader. By the author of Two Friends of Man.

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. By Theodore Draper. 1957. 498 pp. \$6.75.

The first detailed, extensively documented history of the formative period of the Communist Party. Reviewing it in the Summer 1957 issue of International Socialist Review, James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the Communist Party and now chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, said, "It belongs in the library of every socialist militant."

AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By S. Lilley. 1957. 225 pp. \$3.25.

"Dr. Lilley explodes the myth that the only reason capitalism does not make a massive turn to automation is because of prohibitive costs," said an Aug. 12 review of this book in The Militant.

KARL LIEBNECHT. Man Without a Country. By Karl W. Meyer. 1957. 180 pp. \$3.25.

In the generation since the assassination of this great revolutionary leader there has been only one other biography of him written and it has not been translated from the German. This new biography in English will fill a deplorable gap in the bookshelves of socialist-minded Americans.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. 1957. 264 pp. \$3.50 plus 15 cents for mailing costs. (Originally \$4.00).

A searching examination of the economic position of the Negro middle class and its pretensions — social, cultural and political — to leadership of the Negro struggle for equality. By one of America's outstanding sociologists. A "must" book for all serious students.

Detroit Socialist Leader Urges Vote for Patrick

By Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, Oct. 13—Only one important question will be settled in the Detroit election on Nov. 5, and it is this: Will the Negro people, over one-fifth of the city's population, at last win representation on the Common Council, or will the anti-Negro elements succeed in keeping the Council lily-white?

As candidate for Mayor in the September "non-partisan" primary election, I advocated the nomination and election of William T. Patrick, Jr. as Councilman. So did the Wayne County CIO Council, the Socialist Workers Party and large sections of the Negro community. Patrick ran ninth among the 18 candidates nominated for the runoff where nine Council members will be elected.

Patrick's good showing in the primary was due chiefly to the Negro community's justified desire to win representation in office at all levels. The desire was also reflected in the nomination of two other Negro candidates, George H. Edwards and Charles M. Diggs, who ran 13th and 16th in the primary.

HAS BEST CHANCE

Patrick ran ahead of Edwards and Diggs, and has a better chance of being elected for two reasons: His candidacy is the result of independent and fairly broad organization in the Negro community, which they lack, although Negroes voted for them too; and he has CIO support.

But Patrick's election is by no means assured.

For one thing, he has the bitter opposition of the organized anti-Negro forces in this city. In the primary they circulated vicious white-supremacist literature urging people to "Vote Right, Vote White." Under that slogan they are still trying to mobilize the prejudiced and backward elements, who make up a large part of the population, to turn out at the polls Nov. 5 for the express purpose of preventing any Negro from being elected to the Council.

Another danger results from the way the Patrick campaign is being conducted. Instead of boldly and proudly proclaiming that he defends the principle of

Negro representation in office, Patrick puts himself forward as a candidate of "all the people." This is supposed to be "smart" politics, but it isn't really.

HIS REAL STRENGTH

The FACT is that Patrick wouldn't even be in the runoff if the Negro community wasn't determined to win representation on the Council. This is Patrick's strength, not his weakness. By proceeding from this fact, and by defending and expounding the principle of Negro representation, he could inspire and mobilize the many Negroes who did not bother to vote in the primary, and whose presence at the polls next month may spell the difference between election and defeat.

By speaking out openly for the principle of Negro representation, and by stressing the common interests of the white workers and the Negro people, Patrick also could win greater interest and support among white workers. Candidates claiming to stand for "all the people" are a dime a dozen, and make little impression.

But many white workers can be attracted by a Negro candidate trying to show them that their interests too will be promoted by having on the Council a candidate representing the aspirations of the Negro community, which are basically the same aspirations that the white workers have.

Another weakness of the Patrick movement is the attitude of its leadership toward forces whose only interest in Negroes is how to use and exploit them. An example is its inviting Mayor Miriani to speak at some of the Patrick meetings.

WHOM MIRIANI SPEAKS FOR

Miriani, the big business candidate (stupidly endorsed by the labor movement), promises to continue the policies of his predecessor, the late Cobo, whose record on civil rights issues was notoriously reactionary. Miriani is also the candidate of the groups circulating the "Vote Right, Vote White" poison right now.

The fight for Negro representation is not helped, but hurt and discredited by letting Miriani speak at Patrick rallies.

The main asset of the Patrick movement is that it is independently organized, but that asset can be dissipated by association with the Mirianis and other capitalist politicians who are responsible for the Common Council being all-white today.

Despite such serious weaknesses, the Patrick movement remains the best vehicle of winning Negro representation in this election. We socialists urge all enemies of Jim Crow, white and colored alike, to promote that principle by working actively between now and Nov. 5 to elect Patrick to the Council.

Poll Shows Extent Of Detroit Bias

DETROIT, Oct. 13 — Last week the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research reported the results of a survey among whites in Detroit. Here is what they found:

Fifty-six per cent think that white and Negro schoolchildren who live in the same neighborhood should attend classes together in Detroit.

Ten per cent think they should attend the same schools but in separate classes.

And the rest, a little over one-third, favor complete segregation of the two races in different schools.

The Detroit News hailed this with the headline: "Tolerant View on Integration Found in City."

Almost half the whites are against school integration in a city where integration is the official policy and is supposed to be in effect — and this is called "tolerance"!

No wonder that the prospect of electing a Negro Councilman — already achieved in many non-Southern cities where Negroes are a smaller proportion of the population than here — receives such virulent and passionate opposition in Detroit!

Poor Families Ousted from LA Area Condemned for City, Sold to Dodgers

By Della Rossa

Concrete steps lead to nowhere except weeds and refuse. There are narrow little roads, with sign posts, Garibaldi, Reposa, Paducah. A solid school still stands, but its windows are boarded up. Nearby there is a little grocery store, plastered with advertising, and a vegetable garden by its side. Its sign says, "City Center Grocery Store." Occasionally its screen doors bang because a handful of families in scattered houses remain, with their cactus patches, their chickens and their dogs.

This is the Chavez Ravine area of Los Angeles. It's bordered by Elysian Park and the Police Academy on one side, the

Naval Academy and six old and faithful oil wells on the other. The Los Angeles City Hall shaft is seen nearby above the hill-top.

Voices have been clamoring lately, "Look, what waste! This is the ideal home for the Brooklyn Dodgers."

The cause of the waste, the maneuvers, the treachery to the people who left behind only their concrete steps and a frying pan beside a rose bush, (their abandoned homes burned down, perhaps by vandals) are ignored by these voices. Yet it took place not long ago, when the smiling, pleasant faced Norris Poulson, front man for the enemies of the families of Chavez

Ravine, who is beginning his second term as Mayor, had just been elected to his first term.

DREAMS KILLED

It occurred when the dreams of the respected architect, Richard Neutra for a housing project with play areas and facilities for working families, were thrown out. Families had already been forced out, Federal funds were available, but the first act of the newly elected Mayor Poulson was to fly to Washington to cancel the whole plan.

Three people, two of them from Chavez Ravine, have filed a suit in Superior Court. Cutting into the clamor for bringing the Dodgers here, they want to remind the City Council that a 1953 deed restriction provides that Chavez Ravine must be held for public use for 20 years.

LAND GRAB

"This is not a baseball deal, this is an enormous land deal"—these are the words of Julius Rubens, an attorney, and one of the three who filed the Superior Court suit. He had joined the Sept. 30 debate before the City Council. The hearing room was jammed and most of the speakers were in agreement. This is business and profit, they said unblushingly. They omitted to mention that it did not profit the majority of Los Angeles residents, and especially did not profit the families who had left their homes in Chavez Ravine.

Among those who gloated that it was the "opportunity of a lifetime" were the former head of the Chamber of Commerce and the manager of the big Statler Hotel.

The manager of a community newspaper remarked: "Professional sports are big business and should be treated as big business."

A representative of the four Los Angeles daily papers said, "These newspapers are 100 per cent behind this move."

Perhaps that is why they rarely print the words of people like J. J. Rodriguez, president of Los Angeles Community Service Organization, a committee of Mexican-Americans interested in protecting their civil rights. Mr. Rodriguez said at the Council hearings:

"I am not opposed to the Dodgers but I am opposed to the fact that the land in Chavez Ravine was condemned for one purpose and now is going to be sold for another purpose."

Dr. Nathan Gives Class On K. Marx

NEW YORK, Oct. 16.—Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the Albert Einstein estate, will teach a course in "Karl Marx and Contemporary Capitalism" as part of a program of socialist studies beginning next week, sponsored by the Socialist Unity Forum. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, renowned Negro Historian and author, will lecture on "The Negro in American History," as part of the same series. Other instructors are Dr. Barrows Dunham, former chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Temple University, Kumar Goshal, World Affairs editor of the National Guardian and F. G. Clarke, socialist writer and lecturer.

A reception for the faculty of the series of classes was held October 13 at which Dr. Nathan spoke. He said that the society we live in is "profoundly sick" and pointed to the preparations for nuclear warfare and widespread corruption even within the unions as symptoms of that sickness. Dr. Nathan stressed the need for socialist education among workers in particular. Quoting from Trotsky's work "In Defense of Marxism," he said, "No matter how talented and devoted to socialism an emigrant from the bourgeois milieu may be, before becoming a teacher, he must first go to school in the working class."

MEMORIAL TO MCAVOY

Corliss Lamont was master of ceremonies for the faculty reception. A memorial tribute to Clifford T. McAvoy was delivered by Harvey O'Connor. Mr. McAvoy was chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity until his recent death. He was for many years a prominent figure in labor and radical politics in the New York area and devoted his last year to the process of socialist regroupment as a staunch advocate of independent labor political action.

The program of studies will consist of five, six-week courses in economics, philosophy, history and world politics. Classes will be conducted at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and will commence Oct. 22 running for six weeks, three evenings a week. The participation of "everyone interested in the socialist viewpoint, and of socialists of all persuasions" is invited. Further information may be obtained by writing the Socialist Unity Forum, 74 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

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THE MILITANT

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Labor Party, A-Tests Issues in S.F. Campaign



Warren K. Billings (left) and John T. McManus. Billings has endorsed Socialist Workers nominees in San Francisco. McManus is urging support to the New York rally for Vincent Hallinan and Joyce Cowley Oct. 25. (see story page 1.)

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 13 — The Socialist candidates for Supervisors, Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, spoke to a filled hall here last night on their campaign experiences. Joan Jordan told of her appearance at the CIO Council where she was questioned on her program for over 45 minutes.

"The Council members were very interested in our call for the formation of a Labor Party," said Mrs. Jordan. "In fact this idea is getting a very fine reception. In nearly every union that allows questions from the floor the members want to know how a Labor Party would work."

Frank Barbaria reported a similar experience and added, "I find that officials of the unions are listening with a great deal of care to the idea of forming a Labor Party. They realize that more and more repressive labor legislation is being supported by their so-called 'friends.' Independent political action is becoming more attractive especially in the eyes of local officials who are closest to the rank and file."

FALLOUT HAZARDS

The main topic for the evening was the danger of atomic fallout. L. Kelly Mayhew, an expert on the dangers of radioactive fallout gave a graphic illustration of how the Atomic Energy Commission hides very real hazards to our health. "At a horse show recently held in Nevada," she said, "a radioactive cloud passed over the bleachers. The editor of the Tonopah Times Bonanza while going into town on an errand ran into an AEC monitoring team. He told them of the cloud and they said they knew of it. He asked them if it would be a good idea to take a bath and wash his hair. They assured him it would be a very good idea. He then asked them if they would go back to the horse show and tell the people about the

dangerous cloud and advise them to do likewise. The head of the team agreed but had second thoughts at the entrance and called his boss. He was forbidden to mention the danger and would not allow Mr. Crandall, the editor to make one. It is to be hoped that everyone took their regular Saturday-night bath and added the precaution of a shampoo as well," she said.

Carl Fine, speaking on the struggle to stop atomic weapons testing, said, "There are three things we can do now. First, we urge the unions to pass resolutions similar to those passed in one of the Los Angeles UAW locals and here by the ILWU. Second, we can join groups that seek to educate people about the dangers and lastly we can vote for the socialist candidates Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, who have a clear record of opposition to nuclear weapons testing."

The socialist candidates are visiting union meetings and civic groups every night. They had a very good response last week at the legislative committee of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union.

Publications Fund Drive Gets Growing Response

By Constance Farr
National Campaign Director

"We were very pleased to get several contributions to the Press and Publications Fund from Militant readers who want to do all they can to build for socialism and

know the importance of our ideas and publications. . . . and also, what it means to 'pay the bills.' From the Twin Cities fund director.

"Pledges are rather easy to obtain from our close sympathizers who are readers of the Militant," writes Ann Dorsey, Seattle.

From other branches, we hear that the newest members have been among the most generous. From Allentown: "This remittance has been made possible by the generosity of our newest comrade and now this leaves just \$42 for us to pull for so we should be able to make it in good time." Chicago, as previously reported, received a sizeable sum from a new member, who paid on the spot.

The Press and Publications Fund will make possible the publication of many of the out-of-print works of Leon Trotsky. His books are being read by all serious political people today. They contain the best key to an understanding of the events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. If New York recently, Otto Nathan, professor and executor for Albert Einstein, in a talk about education for workers, quoted from "In Defense of Marxism," by Trotsky.

Last week, we received word from an Italian publisher

specializing in the works of Trotsky. "We are the Italian publishers of Trotsky's works and have already published 'The Revolution Betrayed' (in 1956), 'The Third International After Lenin' (in 1957), and we are planning to issue within the first months of next year: 'The Autobiography'."

"Unfortunately, we do not have the texts for the following works of Trotsky which you have published," he said. The publisher then lists a number of works by Trotsky and asks our aid in furthering his publication program.

It has often been said that the mark of a serious political person is how deep he will dig into his pocket for the advancement of his ideas. Nowadays, when the "Hidden Persuaders" use the ideas of Freud to bombard us with pressure to BUY, it is indeed a politically-conscious person who is willing to sacrifice for the growth of the party which offers the rewards of being in tune with the great historical transition from capitalism to socialism.

Readers of the Militant are urged to help us in our fund drive. Remember the sweetest opening line of a letter reads, "Enclosed find check." Send your contribution today to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$ 250	\$157.00	63
Allentown	102	60.00	59
Newark	240	100.00	42
Seattle	500	200.00	40
Twin Cities	1,584	581.00	37
Youngstown	300	103.50	34
Buffalo	1,800	575.00	32
Detroit	825	266.00	32
Chicago	1,560	490.00	31
Los Angeles	4,000	1,202.00	30
New York	4,500	1,307.00	29
Boston	600	160.00	27
Cleveland	600	105.00	18
Philadelphia	480	79.50	17
San Francisco	450	4.00	1
Oakland	240	—	—
St. Louis	80	—	—
General	—	75.00	—
Totals			
through Oct. 16	\$18,111	\$5,465.00	30

Corrupt Politics and Labor Corruption

By S. W. Argus

One aspect of the current exposure of labor racketeering has escaped the attention of the working people. That is the link between the two-party system and the labor bureaucracy in fostering the unholy alliance of corrupt big-city political machines and the racket-ridden apparatus of the conservative craft-conscious trade unions. Particularly in connection with the municipal elections in New York City is there a burning urgency to clarify this connection for the workers and for the class-conscious members and followers of the Communist Party. Clarity on this point will assist them to break with support to Tammany and to take the road of independent political action.

The frankest expression summarizing the unholy alliance of corrupt political and union bossism was given by labor czar, Joseph P. Ryan, once life-time president of the International Longshoremen's Association, when he was quoted as follows: "The [New York] Central Labor and Trades Council was Tammany first and labor afterwards." When the late Mayor "Jimmy" Walker resigned under fire, Ryan and the CLTC were the only forces crass enough to defend him. The old Building Trades Council in New York was notoriously known as the "annex of Tammany Hall." All New York labor racketeers of the period under review were represented exclusively by Tammany attorneys.

The reciprocal relationship between dishonest politicians and crooked misleaders of labor was exemplified by Wm. P. Kennedy, vice-president of the Council, who served as chief of the Tammany wigwag and later became chairman of Tammany's executive committee. Sheriff Tom Farley of tinbox fame was a former business agent of the Cement and Concrete workers. (Robert Hunter's book, "Labor in Politics" and Joel Seidman's book, "Labor Cezars," are extremely valuable in setting forth these relationships.)

The motto of the crooked labor leader-crooked politician hookup was "get a fair flip"—which is not so different from the concept behind Reuther's and Hoffa's endorsement of an anti-labor Republican mayoralty candidate in Detroit this fall.

This crass class-collaboration is a natural consequence of the traditional policy of the labor bureaucracy to reward its (but not labor's) friends in both major political parties and torpedo any attempts to launch an independent anti-capitalist and anti-two-party-machine movement based on labor and its allies.

Gompers' dictum ("reward your friends, punish your enemies") has permeated the labor bureaucracy and spawned the labor racketeer. Labor bureaucrats granted support to corrupt political machines which provided protection in exchange for the votes afforded by their friends in the labor movement.

Examine, for instance, the revelations many years ago of the Lockwood investigations into corruption in labor. You will find the following statement of an attorney for a prominent em-

ployers' association: "These fellows [labor bureaucrats under investigation] are really all right when you get to know them. After all, they are just out for themselves, like you and me."

An official of the employers' association summed it up as follows: "Brindell [leader of the Building Trades unions] is doing a wonderful job in stabilizing the business and we must stand behind him."

The same sentiment is voiced today in the testimony of Carme Matheson, an attorney whose firm represents several large Truckers' Associations. "The trucking industry thinks a lot of Hoffa," said Matheson. "He's tough but we respect him. We think he's one of the most forward-looking labor leaders." This was said at a \$100-a-plate testimonial dinner last year for Hoffa.

A secretary of the Chicago Employers' Association has admitted that "employers in increasing numbers have seized upon this type of labor union leadership and utilized it through rackets and racketeering to the selfsame ends which half-a-century ago brought capitalism to a position of general disrepute."

To whom, then, can the organized labor movement turn to rid itself of labor "czars" and racketeers. Not to the employers which promote them. Nor to the legislative committees crusading for even stiffer Taft-Hartley-type laws. Nor to the "clean" labor bureaucrats and their unholy partners, the Big-city Democratic or Republican machines who spawned the labor racketeer.

Only democratic, rank-and-file, militant unionism supported by a labor party administration can break the hold of the unholy combination of employer, racketeer, labor-bureaucrat and corrupt political machine.

The first step in this direction on the political arena this fall is to cast a vote for independent working-class political action by supporting the municipal ticket and the program of the SWP headed by its N. Y. mayoralty candidate, Joyce Cowley.

The SWP recognizes—alone of all the left-wing forces in the field—that a labor party embracing 30 or 40 million skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers allied to the working farmers and to the Negro people, would in no sense be a minority party. It would be a political force of

first magnitude that would carry through its program not by lobbying or currying favors at the table of Big Business—but by exercising its own organized might.

Independent political action is not only a necessary but a thoroughly logical step to rescue the rank-and-file from bondage to the labor racketeer, the employer and the corrupt two-party system. If the labor movement is to go forward on the political as well as economic front, it can only do so by freeing itself first from the narrow-minded bureaucrats and the ill-advised course of the Communist Party leadership of trafficking with the corrupt Tammany machine of Carmine De Sapio.

New York Socialist Workers Party
Candidates on TV and Radio
JOYCE COWLEY ON TV
Sunday, October 27
2 P.M.
Citizens Union Searchlight
Interview
WRCA — Channel 4
•
LILLIAN KIEZEL
ON RADIO
Tuesday, October 22
10:05 to 10:30 P.M.
Round Table Discussion on
The New York City Council
WRCA — 660 on the dial

Detroit
The Future of American Socialism
speaker:
Murry Weiss
Fri., Oct. 25, 8 P.M.
3737 Woodward
Auspices:
Friday Night Forum
(On the following Friday, Nov. 1, 8 P.M. Sarah Lovell will speak on the "Myth of the Happy Worker.")

Chicago
The Future of American Socialism
speaker:
Murry Weiss
(Currently on National Tour)
Friday, Nov. 1, 8:15 P.M.
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